Epilogue: A Heritage

Madison in the years between 1811 and 1860 was a western community in which geography, economics, and entrepreneurial leadership combined to produce growth and prosperity. Initially Madison's location on the Ohio River and its proximity to the rich lands of the central portion of the state provided the possibilities for development that attracted men of foresight and daring. The ability of these men to capitalize on the potential of Madison's environment remained limited until technology in the form of the steamboat and the railroad fulfilled the possibilities of its location. The steamboat and the railroad in fostering growth brought new leaders to Madison, who, combined with the old leaders, advanced the town to its maximum growth. In the decade of the 1850s, when technology began to hinder growth and the immediate environment lacked the resources for continued growth, these leaders departed.

During the disruptive period of the Civil War the population of Madison increased from 8,130 in 1860 to 10,709 in 1870, but it declined to 8,945, little more than the 1860 population, in 1880.[1] Thereafter, Madison reverted to the atrophy that had begun in the 1850s. This condition has extended to the present, when fewer people live within the bounds of antebellum Madison than resided there during the decade of the 1850s.[2] The decline of Madison has parallels in southeastern Indiana and in the

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[1] U. S. Tenth Census of the United States, 1880 (22 vols., Washington, 1883-1885), I, 151.

[2] In 1972, the United States postal service in Madison estimated that about 6,000 persons lived on Madison's bottomland. Estimate provided by Madison Chamber of Commerce.

history of western communities generally. Indeed, rather than being an exception, the history of Madison perhaps mirrors that of more western communities than does the history of such cities as Cincinnati, Chicago, or Denver, cities that have continued to grow. The particulars for the western communities that declined may vary from those of Madison, but inquiry into the combination and interaction of geography, economics, and entrepreneurial leadership so important to the growth and decline of Madison will reveal the importance of these factors in other cities. Similarities in growth and decline might justify speaking of such communities in terms of a specific type. Since immediate opportunities for success attracted men of daring and foresight who used these places for experience and material gain, such communities might be characterized by their speculative quality. In this sense, then, Madison may well represent a type of speculative western community that provided experience and capital for building more promising cities.

More numerous than cities that continued to grow, western communities like Madison are monuments to the shattered hopes of many of their early settlers, and to human progress. Tragedies in terms of wealth and prosperity, they constitute an important heritage preserved by circumstance rather than intent. In Madison most of the manufacturing industry of the town is gone, but many of the residences and business buildings of the antebellum period remain. These are not replicas but a stage in our urban development which words cannot duplicate. They sustain a feeling about life and living from a by-gone era that has not endured in the modern urban community. This feeling about life and living forms a heritage of the past out of which we have grown. Communities like Madison, by-passed

by success, contain within their history and physical remains a record of early towns and cities that can add to our understanding of urban history and that deserve to be appreciated and preserved.

Bibliographic Essay

Though not a comprehensive account of all sources used or consulted, this essay includes all the most important ones.

Primary Sources

Federal, State, County, and City Documents

Manuscript population and manufacturing schedules of early censuses (1810-1840), along with their published aggregate enumerations, though useful in identification of heads of households and in providing a report on the numbers of people and numbers and kinds of industries in Indiana counties and towns, have less value than the schedules for 1850 and 1860. The latter include economic and social data on both population and industry. The American State Papers (38 vols., Washington, 1832-1861), especially the five volumes concerning Finance, have useful information on Madison's first bank. Reports to Congress on banking and internal improvements published in House and Senate documents contain much information relevant to Madison banking, and the Ohio River and its commerce.

The documentary journals of the Indiana General Assembly provided substantial information, particularly the reports on banking and internal improvements. The laws of Indiana contain useful information on internal improvements and the organization of Madison's banks and corporations. Copies of laws passed during the territorial period can be found in Louis B. Ewbank and Dorothy L. Riker, eds., The Laws of Indiana Territory 1809-1816 (Indianapolis, 1934). Annual reports of the Indiana State Board of Agriculture do not begin until 1851, but thereafter they provide information

on farm production, technology, acreage, and agriculture at the county level. The Jeffersonville and Brookville Land Office Records (Archives Division, Indiana State Library), are very useful in identifying early landowners and land sales receipts deposited in Madison's first bank. The State Bank of Indiana Papers (Archives Division, Indiana State Library), contain an almost complete collection of the monthly reports of the Madison Branch of the Second State Bank and the Letterbook of the Bank (1834-1840), which includes correspondence between the State Bank Board and branch officers.

On the county level, commissioners', court, and land records found in the Jefferson County Court House, Madison, Indiana, have useful information on early merchants, land ownership, and the physical growth of Madison. The Commissioner Record Books (Auditor's Office) include information on the licensing of merchants, Grand Jury investigations, reports of persons appointed by the commissioners to investigate county problems, and decisions of the commissioners in regard to those problems. The Court Records (Clerk's Office) contain much testimony regarding the early history of Madison in the civil and criminal suits that were brought before the county court. The General Index of Deeds (Recorder's Office) provides listing of property owners in Madison from 1812 onward. The Plat Books (Recorder's Office) give detailed visual records of the physical growth of Madison.

The official records of the city, including tax lists, property ownership, trustee and council meeting reports, and ordinances, all found in the City Hall, Madison, Indiana, have much information concerning town growth and property owned by its citizens. The Town Record, 1824-1838, and the Record Book, 1844-1850 (Clerk Treasurer's Office) gives information on property ownership, city improvement, reports of committees appointed

to investigate city problems, and trustee and council decisions regarding those problems. Lister's Books of Taxable Property within the City of Madison (Madison City Hall Archives) list the personal and real property of residents, and the location of that property.

Gazetteers and Directories

Gazetteers used contain alphabetical listings of Indiana towns and include estimates of town population and location of the town in relation to streams and distance from major cities. For many, though not all, the towns the gazetteers provide descriptions of functions and services available. Those especially helpful in establishing the functional relationship of towns in Madison's hinterland were John Scott, The Indiana Gazetteer (Centreville, Indiana, 1826); The Indiana Gazetteer, or Topographical Dictionary (second edition, Indianapolis, 1833); The Indiana Gazetteer, or Topographical Dictionary (third edition, Indianapolis, 1849); and George W. Hawes, Indiana State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1860 and 1861 (Indianapolis, 1860). In some instances the authors of the gazetteers personally traveled to many of the places they described (this was true of John Scott), but generally they relied on information sent to them by local residents. Comparison of population estimates reported in the gazetteers with those of the Federal censuses show the gazetteers to be reliable, in that respect, at least.

Directories are helpful not only for locating businesses and residents but also for providing occupations of residents as well. Among the most valuable in this study are the annual directories of Thomas Longworth, Longworth's American Almanac New-York Register and City Directory (New York, 1830-1845); William Gilman Lyford, The Western Address Directory

(Baltimore, 1837); Isaac Harris, Harris' General Business Directory (Pittsburgh, 1841); the annual directories of John Doggett, Jr., New York City Directory (New York, 1847-1850); H. Wilson, Wilson's Business Directory of New York City (New York, 1848); Thomas V. Webb, A Directory of Jefferson County Indiana (Madison, Indiana, 1859); C. S. Williams, Williams' Madison Directory, City Guide, and Business Mirror, 1859-1860 (Madison, 1859); and George W. Hawes, Madison Business Directory, for 1860 (Indianapolis, 1860).

Newspapers and Periodicals

Newspapers were necessary for almost every aspect of this study. No other source provides the diversity of information and delineates the temper of Madison as well as its newspapers. Topics they cover include politics, agriculture, commerce, business, and general affairs, and the newspapers' editorials spoke to the most pressing local issues. A rather extensive collection of these Madison newspapers is extant in the Archives of the Indiana State Library, including the Western Eagle, 1813 to 1814; Indiana Republican, 1817 to 1820, with scattered issues between 1821 and 1827, and full coverage 1830 to 1833; Western Clarion, 1822; Republican and Banner, 1833 to 1836, and 1844 to 1845, with a few issues for those years missing; Madison Courier, 1839 to 1860 (weekly from 1839 to 1849 and daily thereafter), the best and most complete run of a Madison paper; Madison Daily Banner, 1848 to 1853, and the Daily Tribune, 1851 to 1852. Madison's post Civil War newspapers, particularly the Daily Courier, Daily Evening Courier, and the Weekly Herald, provide information on its early history in the reminiscences and obituaries of its early settlers.

Other antebellum periodicals and newspapers contain valuable articles

on business, commerce, and railroads that supplemented information in Madison newspapers. The American Railroad Journal, 1832 to 1860 (title varies) regularly reported on the building and operation of Indiana railroads; the Railroad Record, or Journal of Commerce, Banking, Manufacture, and Statistics published for only a short time in the 1850s, also carries important articles on Indiana railroads and Madison industry. Niles' Weekly Register, Hunt's Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review, and DeBow's Review: A Monthly Journal of Commerce, also have many articles on business and commerce relevant to Madison and Indiana. Among the more important Indiana newspapers that carry articles concerning the development of Madison and southern Indiana are three Indianapolis newspapers--Gazette, Journal, and Sentinel--and the Lawrenceburg Political Beacon.

General and Statistical

Varied sources provide information on banking, business, and the Madison railroad. Among those for banking are the Madison Branch of the Second State Bank, State Bank of Indiana Papers (Archives, Madison Bank and Trust Company, Madison, Indiana); State Bank of Indiana Papers (Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis); Madison Branch of the Third State Bank, Bank of the State of Indiana Papers (Archives, Madison Bank and Trust Company, Madison, Indiana); Madison Branch, Bank of the State of Indiana Papers (Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis); and Madison, Indiana Bank Papers (Archives, First National Bank, Madison, Indiana). These papers include journals of the meetings of bank directors, account books, and correspondence of bank officers. The Credit Reporting Ledgers of the Mercantile Agency, forerunner of Dun and Bradstreet (Baker Library, Harvard Business School) contain information on the business and businessmen of

Madison. These ledgers provide candid, if not always entirely trustworthy views of the wealth, character, and reliability of many of Madison's merchants, manufacturers, and bankers. The Annual Reports of the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad (Indiana Division, Indiana State Library) are virtually the only known source, besides newspaper and periodical reports, for the history of that road. The Annual Reports contain freight statistics, discussions of building and operational problems, costs, gross and net earnings, and lists of officers and directors.

Little hard data exist on the climate, soil, and vegetation of early Madison and southern Indiana but a number of sources have information relevant to these subjects. These include several studies by Charles Cist, Cincinnati in 1841: Its Early Annals and Future Prospects (Cincinnati, 1841); The Cincinnati Miscellany (Cincinnati, 1845); and Sketches and Statistics of Cincinnati (Cincinnati, 1851). Other works of value are J. H. Colton, The State of Indiana Delineated (New York, 1838); Richard S. Fisher, Indiana: in Relation to Its Geography, Statistics, Institutions, County Topography, Etc.(New York, 1852); and two studies by James Hall, Statistics of the West (Cincinnati, 1837); The West: Its Soil, Surface, and Productions (Cincinnati, 1848).

Contemporary Papers, Reminiscences, and Memoirs

Very few papers of important Madison residents are known to have been preserved but a number of collections have material concerning Madison. These include the Robert J. Elvin Scrapbook (Indiana Division, Indiana State Library); the William H. English Collection (Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis) having papers of prominent Indianians gathered by English; and the Calvin Fletcher Papers (Indiana Historical

Society, Indianapolis). The Fletcher diary for the years before 1838 is available in published form, edited by Gayle Thornbrough, The Diary of Calvin Fletcher: 1817-1838 Including Letters of Calvin Fletcher and Diaries and Letters of His Wife Sarah Hill Fletcher (Indianapolis, 1972). The James Howard Papers (Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington), have important data on Madison's early boatbuilding industry. The William N. Jackson Papers (Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis) contain observations on the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad by one of its officers. Other useful manuscripts are the John Lyle King Diary (Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis); the Jane Merrill Papers (Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis); the Jeremiah Sullivan Papers (Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis); and the Samuel Merrill Papers (Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis). Merrill was president of the Madison railroad from 1844 to 1849, and his letters contain a frank discussion of its building and operation.

Two of the most useful recollections of Madison leaders are those of James F. D. Lanier, Sketch of the Life of J. F. D. Lanier (second edition, New York, 1877), and the Memoirs of Milton Stapp (Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington). Of very limited value is William McKee Dunn, A Memoir (New York, n.d.). Other recollections that touch on Madison are Jacob Burnet, Notes on the Early Settlement of the North-Western Territory (Cincinnati, 1847); Hugh McCulloch, Men and Measures of Half a Century, Sketches and Comments (New York, 1888); Rev. Benjamin Franklin Morris, Historical Sketch of Rising Sun, Indiana....Delivered Sept. 15, 1856 (Cincinnati, 1858); Journal of Charles B. Cotten (Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington); and E. S. Thomas, Reminiscences of the Last

Sixty-Five Years (2 vols., Hartford, Connecticut, 1840).

Travel Literature

Accounts of early travelers in Indiana contain descriptions of Madison and commentaries on the people and physical environment of southern Indiana. Among these are Karl Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, Travels Through North America During the Years 1825 and 1826 (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1828); and Morris Birkbeck, Notes on a Journey in America, From the Coast of Virginia to the Territory of Illinois (Dublin, 1818). Birkbeck, a capable observer and good writer, was one of the leading advertisers of the West in the 1820s. Also useful are Edmund Dana, Geographical Sketches on the Western Country (Cincinnati, 1819); and William Faux, Memorable Days in America: Being a Journal of A Tour to the United States (London, 1823). A somewhat disgruntled Englishman, Faux is generally a shrewd observer. Also worthy of mention are James Flint, Letters from America (Edinburgh, 1822); Timothy Flint, Recollections of the Last Ten Years, Passed In Occasional Residences and Journeyings in the Valley of the Mississippi (Boston, 1826), A Condensed Geography and History of the Western States (2 vols., Cincinnati, 1828), The History and Geography of the Mississippi (2 vols., second edition, Cincinnati, 1832); Elias Pym Fordham, Personal Narrative of Travels in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky; and of a Residence in the Illinois Territory: 1817-1818, edited by Frederic A. Ogg (Cleveland, 1906); James Hall, Notes on the Western States (Philadelphia, 1838); Richard Lee Mason, Narrative of Richard Lee Mason in the Pioneer West, 1819 (New York, n.d.); John Melish, Travels in the United States in the Years 1806 & 1807, and 1809, 1810, & 1811 (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1812); Isaac Reed, The Christian Traveller (New York, 1828);

Lewis David Von Schweinitz, The Journey of Lewis David Von Schweinitz to Goshen, Bartholomew County in 1831, translated by Adolf Gerber (Indianapolis, 1927); David Thomas, Travels Through the Western Country in the Summer of 1816 (Auburn, New York, 1819), an excellent description of the land forms and vegetation of southern Indiana; and David B. Warden, A Statistical, Political, and Historical Account of the United States of North America (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1819).

Emigrant Guides and Maps

Emigrant guides vary from full length books written from first hand observation to small pocket manuals and compilations by publishers. Those used in this study are generally of the former type and contain descriptions of Madison, and the people and physical environment of southern Indiana. Among these are Robert Baird, View of the Valley of the Mississippi, or the Emigrant's and Traveller's Guide to the West (second edition, Philadelphia, 1834); and Zadock Cramer, The Navigator (ninth edition, Pittsburgh, 1817), a work that went through twelve editions by 1824. It includes strip maps of the Ohio and Mississippi that show rocks, ripples, channels, islands, bayous, and sandbars. Few emigrants started down the Ohio in their own boats without a copy of Cramer. Samuel Cumings, The Western Pilot (Cincinnati, 1836) is similar to Cramer and was first published in 1822 as The Western Navigator. Samuel R. Brown, The Western Gazetteer, or Emigrant's Directory (Auburn, New York, 1817), was one of the better known gazetteers of the period. William Darby, The Emigrant's Guide to the Western and and Southwestern States and Territories (New York, 1818) along with Brown contains some of the most useful descriptions of southern Indiana.

Early Indiana maps showing trails, rivers, roads, and settlements

are of particular value in identifying the major transport routes that relate to the development of Madison. Among these maps are: John Melish, Map of Indiana (Philadelphia, 1817); John Scott, Map of Indiana (Centreville, Indiana, 1826); David H. Burr, Indiana [Map] (New York, 1833); H. S. Tanner, A New Map of Indiana with Its Roads and Distances (New York, 1836); J. H. Coulton, Coulton's New Map of Indiana (New York, 1838); four maps published by J. H. Young, The Tourist's Pocket Map of the State of Indiana (Philadelphia, 1839), The Tourist's Pocket Map of the State of Indiana (Philadelphia, 1848), The Tourist's Pocket Map of the State of Indiana (Philadelphia, 1852), and A New Map of Indiana (Philadelphia, 1850); Thomas A Morris, Railroad Map of Indiana (New York, 1850); and Morse's Map of Indiana (Indianapolis, 1855).

Secondary Sources

Environment

The following studies are of particular value in gaining an understanding of Madison's environment. Three are of special worth for an awareness of the antebellum condition and commerce of the Ohio River: Charles Henry Ambler, A History of Transportation in the Ohio Valley (Glendale, Calif., 1932), a study of waterways, trade, and commerce of the Ohio Valley from the earliest period; Archer Butler Hulbert, Waterways of Westward Expansion: The Ohio River and Its Tributaries (Cleveland, Ohio, 1903), a poorly arranged but informative introduction to the subject; and Albert Ludwig Kohlmeier, The Old Northwest as the Keystone of the Arch of American Federal Union (Bloomington, Ind., 1938), a study that stresses the importance of the Ohio River in the development of early Indiana commerce. The most useful works for comprehending the land environment of Madison include: Archer Butler Hulbert,

Soil: Its Influence on the History of the United States (New Haven, Conn., 1930), a provocative discussion of influence of soil on patterns of settlement and westward expansion; Louis C. Hunter, "Seasonal Aspects of the Economic Life of the Ohio Valley Before the Age of Big Business," Smith College Studies in History, XIX (Oct. 1933-Jan. 1934), a work that shows the importance of climate on the development of business and industry; Robert C. Kingsbury, An Atlas of Indiana (Bloomington, Ind., 1970), with excellent maps; W. N. Logan, ed., Handbook of Indiana Geology (3 parts, Indianapolis, 1922); Harlow Lindley, ed., Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers: A Collection of Reprints from Books of Travel, Letters, and Diaries Prior to 1830 (Indianapolis, 1916); Alton A. Lindsey, ed., Natural Features of Indiana (Indianapolis, 1966); Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., Early Western Travels 1748-1846 (32 vols., Cleveland, Ohio, 1904-1907), an extensive collection of early travelers' commentaries on the west that has a useful topical index; and Roger H. Van Bolt, "The Indiana Scene in the 1840's," Indiana Magazine of History, XLVII (Dec. 1951). Several works of Stephen S. Visher are of considerable value--Climate of Indiana (Bloomington, Ind., 1944), "Indiana Regional Contrasts in Soil Erosion and Their Chief Causes," Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science, XLVI (1937), Economic Geography of Indiana (New York, 1923), and "Indiana Regional Contrasts in Temperature and Precipitation," Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science, XLV (1936).

Transportation

Thomas Senior Berry, Western Prices before 1861: A Study of the Cincinnati Market (Cambridge, Mass., 1943) while focusing on early nineteenth century Cincinnati, which had become a manufacturing center and primary Ohio River port, contains much data relating to river commerce generally.

John G. Clark, The Grain Trade in the Old Northwest (Urbana, Ill., 1966), a statistical history covering the period from about 1815 to 1861, embodies numerous references to Indiana commerce and agriculture. William F. Gephart, Transportation and Industrial Development in the Middle West (New York, 1919) although mainly confined to the state of Ohio, includes a general treatment of pioneer river craft, the steamboat, and the railroad. The most useful studies of early Indiana roads and trails include: Lee Burns, The National Road in Indiana (Indianapolis, 1919); George S. Cottman, "Internal Improvement in Indiana: The First Thoroughfares," Indiana Magazine of History, III (March 1907); Geneal Prather, "The Construction of the Michigan Road, 1830-1849," Indiana Magazine of History, XL (Sept. 1944); Prather, "The Struggle for the Michigan Road," Indiana Magazine of History, XXXIX (March 1943); and George R. Wilson, Early Indiana Trails and Surveys (Indianapolis, 1919). In providing help on the condition and location of early roads and trails, county histories are of varying quality. Among the most useful are: Lewis A. Harding, ed., History of Decatur County Indiana (Indianapolis, 1915); and E. C. Jerman, History and Directory of Ripley County (Versailles, Ind., 1888).

Among studies contributing to an understanding of the development of steamboat traffic on the Ohio River is Captain Lewis C. Baird, Baird's History of Clark County Indiana (Indianapolis, 1909). An old steamboat captain and son-in-law of James Howard, Baird writes knowledgeably about the Ohio River. Other works on this subject are: Garnett Laidlaw Eskew, The Pageant of the Packets: A Book of American Steamboating (New York, 1929); Charles Preston Fishbaugh, From Paddle Wheels to Propellers (Indianapolis, 1970), a biography of James Howard based largely on the Howard Papers; Emerson W. Gould, Fifty Years on the Mississippi; or Gould's History of

River Navigation (St. Louis, 1889); Stephen G. Savage, "James Howard of Jeffersonville, Master Builder of Steamboats" (M. A. thesis, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1952); and Paul B. Trescott, "The Louisville and Portland Canal Company, 1825-1874," Mississippi Valley Historical Review XLIV (March 1958). Louis C. Hunter, Steamboats on the Western Rivers: An Economic and Technological History (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), is by far the best study of the western steamboat. William M. Lytle, Merchant Steam Vessels of the United States 1807-1868 "The Lytle List," edited by Forrest R. Holdcamper (Mystic, Conn., 1952), is the single most complete list of steamboats registered in the United States.

Among the most useful studies of the influence of railroads on Madison are: Freda L. Bridenstine, "The Madison and Indianapolis Railroad," (M. A. thesis, Butler University, Indianapolis, 1931); George S. Cottman, "Internal Improvements in Indiana, No. IV--Railroads," Indiana Magazine of History, III (Dec. 1907); C. G. Sappington, "The Madison and Indianapolis Railroad," Indiana Magazine of History, XII (Sept. 1916); Elmer Sulzer, Ghost Railroads of Indiana (Indianapolis, 1970); Sulzer, "America's Steepest Railroad, Pennsy's Madison Hill ~~takes~~ honors at 5.89 per cent," Trains: The Magazine of Railroading, XXII (July 1962); John R. Cravens, "Pioneer Days of the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad Company," Indiana Magazine of History, XII (Sept. 1916); and Wylie J. Daniels, The Village at the End of the Road (Indianapolis, 1938). Written largely from newspaper accounts of the building of the Madison railroad, Daniels' book relies heavily on long quotations from those newspapers without giving full consideration to their relevance or meaning. Victor M. Bogle, "Railroad Building in Indiana, 1851-1855," Indiana Magazine of History, LVIII (Sept. 1962), is an excellent overview

of railroad building during this vital period in the development of Madison. Other helpful studies are Frederic L. Paxson, "The Railroads of the 'Old Northwest' Before the Civil War," Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letter Transactions, XVII (1911), an early and still highly useful study; Merl E. Reed, New Orleans and the Railroads: The Struggle for Commercial Empire, 1830-1860 (Baton Rouge, La., 1966); and John F. Stover, The Railroads of the South, 1865-1900: A Study of Finance and Control (Chapel Hill, 1955), the first chapter of which is a succinct overview of antebellum railroads. Edward J. Taffe, Richard L. Morrill, and Peter R. Gould, "Transport Expansion in Underdeveloped Countries: A Comparative Analysis," The Geographical Review, LIII (Oct. 1963), contains a transport development model which provides insights into the meaning of the Madison railroad in relation to the growth of Madison. George Rogers Taylor, The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860 (New York, 1951) is an excellent introduction to the technical innovations in transportation and the implications for the economy of those inhovations. Alfred D. Chandler, Henry Varnum Poor, Business Editor, Analyst, and Reformer (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), is a biography of the long-time editor of the Railroad Journal. Chandler's "The Pen in Business" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1951), the basis of his book on Poor, contains material on the Madison road not found in the published biography.

Business and Industry

Among studies that contribute to a general understanding of the functions, relationships, and importance of antebellum towns are: John Carl Abbott, "The Divergent Development of Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Chicago, and Galena, 1840-1860: Economic Thought and Economic Growth" (Ph.D.

dissertation, University of Chicago, 1971); Chauncy D. Harris, "A Functional Classification of Cities in the United States," The Geographical Review, XXXIII (Jan. 1943); Mark Jefferson, "The Law of the Primate City," The Geographical Review, XXIX (April 1939); August Loesch, "The Nature of Economic Regions," Southern Economic Journal, V (July 1939); Roy Lubove, "The Urbanization Process: An Approach to Historical Research," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXIII (Jan. 1967); Allan R. Pred, The Spatial Dynamics of U. S. Urban Industrial Growth, 1800-1914: Interpretive and Theoretical Essays (Cambridge, Mass., 1966); Pred, Behavior and Location: Foundations for a Geographic and Dynamic Location Theory (2 parts, Sweden, 1967-1969); Gideon Sjoberg, The Preindustrial City, Past and Present (New York, 1965); Robert H. T. Smith, "Method and Purpose in Functional Town Classification," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LV (Sept. 1965); Eugene Smolensky, and Donald Ratajczak, "The Conception of Cities," Explorations in Entrepreneurial History, II, (Winter 1965); Richard C. Wade, The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830 (Cambridge, Mass., 1959); Sam Bass Warner, Jr., "If All the World Were Philadelphia: A Scaffolding for Urban History, 1774-1930," American Historical Review, LXXIV (Oct. 1968); Warner, "The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth (Philadelphia, 1968); and Francis P. Weisenburger, "The Urbanization of the Middle West: Town and Village in the Pioneer Period," Indiana Magazine of History, XLI (March 1945).

Studies of particular value in understanding Indiana business and industry are John D. Barnhart, and Donald F. Carmony, Indiana: From Frontier to Industrial Commonwealth (4 vols., New York, 1954); George Branson, "Early Flour Mills in Indiana," Indiana Magazine of History,

XXII (March 1926); Bernard A. Hewes, "The Rise of the Pork Industry in Indiana" (M. A. thesis, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1939); and William C. Latta, Outline History of Indiana Agriculture (Lafayette, Ind., 1938). Latta's study, while less than adequate, is the only work available that deals exclusively with early nineteenth-century Indiana agriculture.

Among more general studies helpful in understanding the operation and functions of Madison business and industry are: Peter Temin, Iron and Steel in Nineteenth-Century America: An Economic Inquiry (Cambridge, Mass., 1964); and Temin, "Steam and Waterpower in the Early Nineteenth Century," Journal of Economic History, XXVI (June 1966). Victor S. Clark, History of Manufactures in the United States: 1607-1860 (New York, 1929), deals with the influence of technical innovation on the development and organization of manufactures. Rudolf Alexander Clemen, The American Livestock and Meat Industry (New York, 1923), contains considerable historical data on meat packing and livestock marketing and pays some attention to technology. Norman L. Crockett, The Woolen Industry of the Midwest (Lexington, Ky., 1970), delineates the origin, development, and demise of woolen textile manufactures in the eight states of the Old Northwest plus Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota. Isaac Lippincott, A History of Manufactures in the Ohio Valley to the Year 1860 (New York, 1914), is a useful introduction to the technical innovations that influenced the development of manufactures. Glenn Porter, and Harold C. Livesay, Merchant and Manufacturers: Studies in the Changing Structure of Nineteenth-Century Marketing (Baltimore, 1971), is an historical investigation of the change from independent merchant and wholesaler dominance of marketing to the assumption of marketing control by manufacturers brought on by the growth of the economy, advancing

technology, and the emergence of the large corporation. Margaret Walsh, The Manufacturing Frontier: Pioneer Industry in Antebellum Wisconsin, 1830-1860 (Madison, Wis., 1972), is a statistical study, on the county level, of the development of manufactures that serves as an excellent guide to methodology. Two articles by Margaret Walsh suggest an important caveat in the use of manuscript manufacturing schedules--"The Census as an Accurate Source of Information: The Value of Mid-Nineteenth Century Manufacturing Returns," Historical Methods Newsletter, III (Sept. 1970), and "The Value of Mid-Nineteenth Century Manufacturing Returns: The Printed Census and the Manuscript Census Compilations Compared," Historical Methods Newsletter, IV (March 1971).

Sources that provide insights into the character and behavior of Madison business leaders are: Frank S. Baker, "Michael C. Garber, Sr., and the Early Years of Madison, Indiana," Indiana Magazine of History, XLVIII (Dec. 1952); John D. Barnhart, "The Southern Influence in the Formation of Indiana," Indiana Magazine of History, XXXIII (Sept. 1937); Grace Vawter Bicknell, The Vawter Family in America (Atlanta, Geo., 1969); Biographical and Historical Souvenir for the Counties of Clark, Crawford, Harrison, Floyd, Jefferson, Jennings, Scott, and Washington, Indiana (Chicago, 1889); and Blanche Goode Garber, "Colonel John Paul, Hoosier Pioneer; First Proprietor and Founder of Xenia, Ohio, and Madison, Indiana," Indiana Magazine of History, XIII (June 1917). Garber's work although an antiquarian study, is the best available sketch of the life of the founder of Madison. Other studies of value are Josephine C. Goldmark, Pilgrims of '48: One Man's Part in the Austrian Revolution of 1848 and a Family Migration to America (New Haven, Conn., 1930); Charles B. Murphy,

The Political Career of Jesse D. Bright (Indianapolis, 1931); and Frederick D. Hill, "William Hendricks: Indiana Politician and Western Advocate" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1972). Although primarily a study of his public life, Hill's biography contains much background information useful in understanding his relationship to the development of Madison. Fritz Redlich, History of American Business Leaders: A Series of Studies (2 vols. in 3, Ann Arbor, 1940-1951), in its first volume contains an incisive and provocative discussion of the types and characters of business leaders found generally in American business. Also worthy of mention are: Nina Kathleen Reid, "Sketches of Early Indiana Senators (III) William Hendricks," Indiana Magazine of History, IX (Sept. 1913); Joseph Herman Schauinger, "Jeremiah C. Sullivan, Hoosier Jurist," Indiana Magazine of History, XXXVIII (Sept. 1941); Wayne J. Van Der Wheele, "Jesse David Bright Master Politician From the Old Northwest" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1958); and William Wesley Woollen, Biographical and Historical Sketches of Early Indiana (Indianapolis, 1883).

Banking

Although substantial work still needs to be done in the history of Indiana banking, several studies are of value: Henry F. Baker, "Banking in the United States: An Historical Sketch of Banking in the State of Indiana," Bankers' Magazine and Statistical Register, VII (Sept. 1857); Ralph C. H. Catteral, The Second Bank of the United States (Chicago, 1968), an excellent descriptive study; and George S. Cottman, "James F. D. Lanier," Indiana Magazine of History, XXII (June 1926). Cottman's sketch is an inadequate substitute for the autobiography of Madison's leading banker. Three studies that rely heavily on state documents but which are the best

works on the subject to date are: Logan Esarey, "State Banking in Indiana, 1814-1873," Indiana University Studies, I (April 1912); Esarey, "The First Indiana Banks," Indiana Magazine of History, VI (Dec. 1910); and William F. Harding, "The State Bank of Indiana," Journal of Political Economy, IV (Dec. 1895). David George Green, Finance and Economic Development in the Old South: Louisiana Banking, 1804-1861 (Stanford, Calif., 1972), concerns the effect of banks on Louisiana's economic development and questions traditional views of American banking. Bray Hammond, Banks and Politics in America, from the Revolution to the Civil War (Princeton, N. J., 1967), concentrates on the practices of the Second Bank of the United States and finds them constructive. David P. and Francis K. Holton, Winslow Memorial: Family Records of the Winslows and Their Descendants in America, with the English Ancestry as Far as Known (2 vols., New York, 1877-1888) contains useful information on the background of Lanier's New York partner. Fritz Redlich, The Molding of American Banking: Men and Ideas (2 parts, New York, 1951) is a study of American banking that traces the origin of banking theories, the careers of principal banks and bankers, and describes and analyzes banking practices. Dorothy Riker and Gayle Thornbrough, eds., Messages and Papers relating to the Administration of Noah Noble Governor of Indiana 1831-1837 (Indianapolis, 1958), is a collection of the messages and papers of the Governor at the time of the formation of the Second State Bank.

Vita

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